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MISCELLANEOUS
REFLECTIONS
UPON THE
P E A C E,
And its CONSEQUENCES.

More especially on a just, as well as real and national Oeconomy, the Regard due to Subjects, who have served in Quality of Soldiers, Seamen, or Marines, the Necessity of providing for the Security of our Frontiers, and of rendering the Peace solid and lasting, by Steadiness in our Conduct at Home and Abroad ; interspersed with seasonable Remarks upon hasty Reductions, Savings ill-placed, and the Folly of exciting Invasions, by leaving the weakest Part of our Dominions exposed.

Addressed to the more considerate and disinterested
Part of the NATION.

Non paranda nobis solum, sed fruenda SAPIENTIA est.
CIC. I. de Finib.

*Non classes non legiones perinde firma imperii munimenta,
quam numerum liberorum.* TACIT. IV. Hist.

*Non enim votis neque suppliciis muliebribus auxilia deorum
parantur ; vigilando, agendo, prosperè omnia cedunt.*
SALLUST. Catil.

L O N D O N :

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MISCELLANEOUS
REFLECTIONS
UPON THE
PEACE, &c.

THE Right of making Peace and War is universally allowed to be the Prerogative of the Crown, as the Power of examining whether this Prerogative be properly or improperly exercised, remains in the King's hereditary great Council, and in the Representative of the People. But notwithstanding this, the whole Nation is so much interested in an Event of this Kind, and every Individual, who either has the Possession, or the Means of acquiring Property, has so many Grounds to hope some Things, and to fear others,

that it is no great Wonder that all Heads are busied, and all Tongues are employed upon a Subject, which is, strictly and properly speaking, every body's Concern. Neither can it be so much as suspected that this general Attention should afford any Disquiet, much less administer any Dislike to our Superiors, since they openly profess that it was for our Benefit the Peace was made; and since we have been very freely told by a Ministerial Writer, that how wisely or honestly soever the Negotiations that lead to it were conducted abroad, the Advantages which are to result from it here at home, must be owing to ourselves.

For these Reasons therefore, I have presumed to throw together a few loose Hints, and detached Thoughts that have occurred to me, upon a Variety of Heads relating to this great Affair; supposing that some of them may possibly have slipped the Attention of those great Men, who have at present the Direction of our Publick Concerns; and who with the best Heads and honestest Intentions in the World, may nevertheless overlook some Matters, and be unacquainted with others, as they are mere Men, and have consequently no Title to Infallibility. If this should be really
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the Case, what I offer may be useful even to them; if not, it may be satisfactory to others; at all Events it can do no Hurt, and the severest Censure that can be passed upon my Labours, will be, that they are trifling and impertinent. This I esteem to be a small Hazard run in endeavouring to do the Publick Service, and yet I think it is the only Hazard; for tho' there could be no true Liberty in a Country where every Man might set up for a Legislator, yet I think it is full as evident that there can be no Freedom in a Country, where any Man may not propose his Sentiments for the publick Good.

I take this to be a sufficient Apology for adventuring to commit my Thoughts to the Press, and shall therefore without Ceremony proceed in my Observations. The first of these is, that it cannot but be highly agreeable to the People of these Nations in general, to see a Spirit of Oeconomy prevail so strongly as it seems to do amongst their Representatives, since, except giving chearfully upon a just Occasion, there cannot be a clearer Mark of true Patriotism, than saving as far as Justice and the Publick Safety will allow. A Principle, which whoever should

go about openly to oppose or secretly to undermine, would discover himself thereby to be equally weak and wicked, in as much as publick Frugality tends to the Advantage even of private Persons, and is a Measure which every Man should be willing to promote, as every Man must reap a Benefit thereby. In short, it is a Point of Politicks about which there can be little or no Dispute; because the only Danger that can be apprehended therefrom is pushing it *too far*; since no body will deny, that improper Savings are by no Means the Marks of true and genuine Frugality.

We have all the Reason in the World to confess, that no Objection from this Remark can arise to the Resolution taken of reducing our regular Forces here at Home, since there is nothing more natural, or indeed more reasonable, than for a free People to be apprehensive of a numerous standing Army. It is doubly dangerous to their Liberties; first, as it establishes an irresistible Power in the Hands of their Governors at Home; and secondly, as it may prove too weak a Guard, in Respect to the Attempts that may be made from Abroad, if too much trusted to; because in that Case it might contribute

tribute to weaken, at least, if not to extinguish that martial Spirit which was the Security of our Ancestors, and which so happily discovered itself upon a late Occasion, when it was shewn with how much Ease the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom, could suddenly raise a Force sufficient to support the legal Government, and to protect the invaluable Liberty of the *British* People. For these Reasons, I say, this Reduction cannot but be universally acceptable, as it shews at once a Desire of easing the People of an unnecessary Expence, and the Confidence that is reposed in them by their Governors for mutual Protection.

The more we consider this, the greater Reason we shall have to expect, that every Article in these Reductions will be maturely weighed and decided; that as the Intention in making them is to save Expence, they will be made in such a manner, as that the Kinds be perfectly proper, and the Amount of those Savings as considerable as possible.

This naturally leads me to remark, that the Soldiers, Seamen, and Marines who are to be reduced, make likewise a Part of the Nation, and consequently in that respect are entitled to the Legislature's Con-

Consideration, by which I mean, that in making these Reductions, Care ought to be taken as well of those who are to be reduced, as of the rest of the Nation, for whose Sake they are reduced. There is a wide Difference between discharging Mercenaries, and disbanding Natives. The former are taken into Service on some particular Occasion, upon Terms that are expressly stipulated, and for a Time certain; when therefore the Occasion is over, the Terms have been complied with, and the Time is expired, these Troops may be dismissed without any farther Consideration; because they return to the Prince whose Subjects they are, and who therefore is the only proper Judge of the Manner of disposing them, whether by a partial or total Reduction, as to him appears most reasonable. But it is quite otherwise with regard to Natives, since when they are reduced, they remain as much Subjects as before, and with this farther Accession of Merit, that they are Subjects who have done their Country eminent Service, and that at the manifest Peril of their Lives. It is therefore highly just and equitable to consider the Season in which such Reductions are made, that Men may

may not be turned out to seek Employment when there is little or none to be had in the Depth of Winter ; whereas six Weeks or two Months, which would make a trifling Difference in Expence, might afford them Leisure to turn themselves to recover their Fatigues, and to find with less Difficulty the means of future Subsistence ; this might be still farther facilitated by gradual Reductions, for while some Proportion is kept between the Number of Men wanted for Labour, and the Number of those who want Business, there will be the less Danger of their getting into Work ; and it may be consequently supposed, that such as are discharged from publick, may be immediately taken into private Service.

One might add to this, the Propriety and Expediency of granting some sort of Reward or Assistance to those by whom the Publick has been served, and from whose Labours, it must be confessed, that great Benefits have accrued ; but this being a Point of national Justice, belongs in a peculiar manner to the Legislature, and having been recommended with the highest Marks of paternal Tendernefs in his Majesty's excellent Speech from the

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Throne, at the Opening of the present Sessions, there seems to be no Need of insisting upon it farther ; for the Reason of the Thing being sufficiently evident, and having been enforced by the highest Authorities, it is impossible the Argument should receive any Addition beyond the bare Repetition of these Circumstances.

But if any should object to this, as in these Times, what is there that can escape Objections ? or rather, what is there that some Men will not have the Face to object ? I say, if it should be alledg'd, that how numerous soever this Reduction may be, it is however very trifling when compared with the Bulk of the Nation ; and therefore in other Cases, so in this, the Interests of a great many must take Place of the Interests of a very few ; and as even the best Measures are liable to some Inconveniencies, so the mentioning these against any Measure for the general Good, ought to have very little or no Weight. I might answer, that our Constitution being built upon Principles incompatible with such Notions, they can never become the Rule of Action to such as have the Direction of our Affairs ; but as this would be avoiding

ing rather than answering the Objection; it would be doing it much more Honour than it deserves. These Sort of Refinements pass well enough in Countries where the People are compelled to submit to arbitrary Power, and afford a specious Pretence for doing what even the most arbitrary Power dares not avow; but at the Bottom it will appear to be a mere Fallacy, by which Statesmen without Bowels impose upon a Populace without Brains, and so persuade one Part of the People to believe, that their Interest and Welfare can be consulted in sacrificing another Part, which, however, is a Sophism not to be endured in a free Nation.

The Wealth as well as the Strength of every Nation, and more especially of every free Nation, consists in the Number of the People; and therefore to say, that the Bulk of the Nation can be any Gainers by the Loss of a certain Number, be it what it will, of strong and able Men, is a flat Absurdity. This will more clearly appear if we consider, that even in the lowest and meanest kind of Labour, an able Man can earn at least ten Pounds a Year, and if you value such a Life but at seven Years Purchase, it is plain, that if a thousand such Men be

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lost,

lost, the Nation loses seventy thousand Pounds. It is much the same Thing to the Community which ever Way this Loss happens, whether by the Distress, Sicknes, and Death of Individuals, for want of immediate Employment, by their betaking themselves first through Necessity to Beggary, and then keeping to it from a Habit of Idleness, or by quitting their Country, and seeking Service or Employment any where else. I say, which ever Way the Loss happens, it varies the Value of it very little; and therefore it becomes a Point of very great Consequence to the Nation, that such a Loss as this should be prevented, if by the Precautions before-mentioned, it can be done at a very small Expence, more especially when we reflect, that let this Expence be more or less, it is nominal only; because the Money remaining still amongst ourselves, the Nation in Fact loses nothing by it; whereas the Loss received by the taking away in any manner such a Number of able Hands, is both real and irrecoverable. Add to this, that the Computation before made, can be applied only to Soldiers and Marines; for the Value of a Seaman's Labour, I mean in respect to the Nation,

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is at least twice or thrice as great. These are Things that do not immediately occur to every Man's Mind, but when mentioned and truly stated, every Man may conceive the Truth, and consequently judge of the Weight they ought to have.

We may likewise observe, that Precautions like those that have been suggested, have upon this very Occasion been actually taken in other Countries, where refined Politicks are thought to be well understood. In *France*, great Care was taken to march back every Battalion of their Militia into the Province where it was raised, that by disbanding them there, the People might more easily find Employment; and yet I think no body can suspect, that the Value of an able Man's Labour is greater in that Kingdom than in this. We have been likewise told, that the *French* have listed, even since their Reductions began, considerable Numbers of our Countrymen into their Land and Sea Service; now with whatever View this is done, there can be no Question that it would be as well worth our while to keep them, as it can be theirs to employ them in either Way. The *Spaniards* have published general Pardons

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to all their Deserters, not with a View of recruiting, or even of compleating their Corps, but that the Terror of Punishment may not fright these People from returning Home. We learn that the Empress Queen of *Hungary* has taken the like Method, and that her Officers were obliged to compleat their Companies before Winter-Quarters were assigned them in her Hereditary Countries. The King of *Prussia* practises the like Method, no doubt from the same Principle, *viz.* that by gradual Reductions at seasonable Distances, a considerable Number of useful Subjects may be obtained. By this Expedient, and by others of a like Nature, the Wastes of War will in those Countries be in some Measure repaired; and tho' this may be attended with a present Expence, yet if this is succeeded by future Advantages, we may safely affirm that it is true Oeconomy upon the whole; neither will it diminish the Force of this Reasoning, if it should be said, that such a Policy is peculiarly adapted to Countries that are but indifferently peopled, and where on that Account it is always a Thing of Consequence to increase the Number of Hands; for the Question may be asked, whether
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Fertility of Soil, a great Number of Manufactures, vast Plantations and an Extensive Trade, will not also require a due Proportion of Care for obtaining and preserving able Men, since their Labour must be most valuable in that Country where they can be employed to the greatest Advantage? Or in other Words, in that Country in which there are the greatest Improvements. Upon this Principle, one may venture to affirm, without Danger of being caught in a Mistake, that there is no Country in *Europe*, where, if the Laws for promoting Industry were as steadily executed as they are wisely contrived, the Labour of able Hands might turn more to the Benefit of the Publick than in *Great Britain*.

Some indeed may think this contradicted, by observing the Number of idle People, Vagabonds, and Beggars that are amongst us, and may be led to imagine that it is a Point of Policy not to increase their Number. So in one Sense no doubt it is; but if due Care were taken to enforce our Laws, there are good Grounds to believe that all, or most of these People might be put into Methods of maintaining themselves comfortably, and of contributing to encrease the Wealth of the Society. An Attempt to establish
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such a Method would be a real Act of Oeconomy, and contribute infinitely more to the Benefit of the Nation than trifling and temporary Sayings. This must be done by banishing and suppressing Luxury, reviving the old Spirit of Diligence and Application, and repressing the new one of pursuing Pleasure, as if that was the only Business of Life worth minding. Nor ought this to be looked upon as a beaten Topick of Satyr, or an Observation so obvious as to deserve little Notice ; since if we regard it much longer in this Light, we shall find the Disease grow too strong, not only for Physicians, but for Physick. It is a downright Dream to fancy, that by the small Abatements we are able to make in our Expences, the People of this Nation may continue at their present Rate of Living without any Hazard of Ruin ; for that is not to be done by any such slender Expedient. If we will live high, and not leave our Posterity Beggars, other Means must be employed ; and instead of looking upon it as a Piece of Policy to get rid of able Hands, when the Time for which they immediately served is over, we must study to encrease and to employ them. This may do the Business ; for to this
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we owe what has been done already, and if we can but effect it, our Vagabonds and Beggars will disappear, and private Fortunes and publick Revenues rise as they ought to do, that is, together.

At first Sight, perhaps, this may seem a Matter that requires much Consideration, and when found not to be made evident to every Understanding without a long and fatiguing Train of Arguments. But the contrary may be easily shewn, and that in a Manner so plain and perspicuous, as to admit of no Reply. I shall only observe, that a very great Proportion of our Manufactures are exported to, and that consequently a very large Share of our Commerce arises from, our Plantations in *America*. It is true, that from the very stating of this Fact there arises a convincing Proof, that we have a vast Number of People there already, but let it be at the same time considered, what prodigious Benefits result from their being in those Countries to those that remain here at home; what Quantities of our Goods they consume, what a Multitude of Hands they employ, what a Quantity of Shipping this renders necessary, and what Safety, what Glory, what Riches we derive from our Navy? Let it be like-

wife remembered, that notwithstanding all this, there are in some of these Plantations very large Quantities, not of barren, but of unimproved Lands, which in the Hands of industrious People might turn to as great, or greater Account, than any that have been yet settled. This, if it could be brought about, would not only take away all Excuses for Idleness, but all Possibility of complaining for Want of Employment; it would beget new Demands for the Produce of this Island, raise new Trades, increase our Shipping, and consequently enlarge the Capital of the Nation, make our annual Income larger, and so of necessity heighten the Revenue, without fatiguing the Heads of our Projectors for the inventing new Taxes.

We may boldly venture to assert, and not to suppose, this, because from the Experience we have had in past Times, the Certainty of this Method is sufficiently established; we know not only that it will do, but how and what it will do. It is not therefore to be ranked among the Number of specious and plausible Proposals for procuring future Benefits, but may be prescribed as a safe and effectual Remedy for that Disease which will otherwise prey upon our Vitals. A Remedy

medy that Providence has put into our Hands, and which there is nothing wanting but Attention and Application, to make it answer that End which is so much to be desired. Tryals we have had, and those Tryals have not only fulfilled, but have exceeded Expectation. In short, it is our having this Remedy that is the great Blessing, the supreme Felicity of this Island; and therefore not to be ingrateful to Providence, or wanting to ourselves, we ought to make use of it. We should consider in what Manner we should be affected, if this was as much in the Power of our Neighbours as it is in ours, and what melancholy Apprehensions would arise if this should ever happen. Let us then seize this happy Opportunity, let us make Use of this great and valuable Prerogative, and thereby not only enrich and aggrandize ourselves, and our immediate Posterity, but lay the Foundation of our Grandeur so deep and so sure, as that there may be no Danger of the Superstructure's being overturned in succeeding Ages. The Design is great and glorious, and which is still more, it is practicable; nay, it not only may be done, but may be done with Facility.

It may be demanded, whether upon this Plan it will be expected, that the Legislature should provide for the transporting to our Colonies, subsisting in their Passage, and putting in a Condition to settle when arrived there, such Persons as are thrown out of Service either by Sea or Land, in consequence of the Peace lately concluded. No private Person has a Right to prescribe, or insist upon any such Thing ; but perhaps if a Man should say that it is practicable, reasonable, and what would turn to the general Service of the Nation, he might not find it a very difficult Task to make every Point of this good. We very well know, in Conjunctions like the present, Multitudes of *British* Subjects will retire elsewhere, and either enter into the Service, or settle in the Dominions of Foreign Princes and States ; the reducing them to a Condition which makes this necessary for them, is, without doubt, a tacit Permission to take such a Step. But if a Proposal was made to these People, to retire to one of our Colonies, where the Climate and Soil are temperate and pleasant, where they might live under the same happy Constitution as at home, and this too amongst their Countrymen ; we can hardly doubt that they would

would accept it, more especially if such Encouragements were given them as would cost the Publick very little, and would notwithstanding be very considerable to them. The Distress and Dislike consists in quitting their native Country; but when *British* Subjects are obliged to get over these, there would be assuredly no great Difficulty found in persuading them to make Choice of Places, which in reality are only the distant^r Parts of their own Country, rather than submit to foreign Laws, and pass the Remainder of their Days amongst Strangers. At least it would be but fit to make the Trial, because so many as accepted such an Offer would be saved to the Community, and the Produce of their Labours still preserved to these Kingdoms. Such a Proceeding would be but just and equitable in itself, because many of these have been forced into the publick Service; and after hazarding their Lives, wasting their Strength, and running variety of Hazards in that Service, it seems but a moderate Return to offer them, tho' it should be attended with some immediate Expence, a tolerable Establishment when their Service is no longer wanted; because it may be presumed, if they had not been so forced,

forced, they might have obtained as good, or a better, for themselves ; such as have freely chose either the Land or Sea Service, when the Circumstances of their Country required it, derive from thence a Plea of Merit, that may well entitle them to such an Offer. But as the Benefit of Individuals ought to be considered in such a Light, as that it may coincide with the publick Advantage ; the Disposing in this Manner of such as are thrown out of Bread by a necessary Reduction, becomes the more reasonable, because it is impossible they should reap any Good from it, without doing more Good to Society than what they require can amount to. So that on the whole, this would be no extravagant or ill-grounded Expectation, in case any Patriot should advance on their Behalf, that such a Thing is at this Time really expected.

But leaving these Matters to the free and impartial Consideration of those who are the only natural and proper Judges, let us proceed to observe, that this is not the only Method that may be employed, either for procuring a Subsistence to such Persons, or the Accomplishment of that great and important Point to the Nation in general, of obtaining an Accession

cession of Inhabitants sufficient to settle and improve those vast Tracts of Country, of which we are in Possession in *America*. There are proper Seasons for all Things, and Works of the greatest Consequence are performed with more or less Difficulty, in Proportion as they are undertaken, either in a proper or an improper Season. There are Times when Men abound, as well as when they are scarce, that is to say, when there are Numbers in Necessity and out of Employment, who would thankfully and cheerfully embrace any Opportunity offered them, of procuring a comfortable Subsistence for themselves and their Families by their own Labour, in Countries happily situated, governed by just and equal Laws, and where they might be free from any Restraint in Matters of Conscience. The present may be justly stiled such a Season; there are already Multitudes of Protestants, and the Circumstances of *Europe* afford us Grounds to believe there will be yet many more, in such Circumstances, that any Invitation of this kind to transport themselves, their Families, and Effects, to Colonies where they might meet with such a Provision, will be regarded as the most favourable Dis-

Dispensations of Providence. Such an Occasion therefore ought not to be overlooked by us, but ought rather to be considered in the very same Light, since the Advantage would be reciprocal at least, and in the Space of a very few Years we should feel the happy Effects, resulting from so wise and worthy a Policy, from so great and so glorious an Act of Compassion. Those that are now vast howling Wilderesses, overgrown with Wood, and Harbours only for wild Beasts, would become rich and fruitful Countries, full of stout and loyal Subjects, constantly adding to the Wealth of this their Mother and protecting Country, and contributing to her Strength, her Grandeur, and her Prosperity.

We know already from Experience, that this Method of peopling our Colonies, more especially those on the Continent, may be pursued with the greatest Safety, and with the most probable Expectations of Success. We know that there are not better Subjects, more frugal, more laborious, or more industrious People in *America*, than such Foreigners as have been either invited over, have retired to, or have otherwise settled in our Plantations ; which leaves not the least

least room to doubt that others would follow their Steps, and endeavour to deserve our Favour and Protection, by behaving in the like manner. Nor does it require any great Strength of Thinking, or Depth of Penetration to perceive, that such an Acquisition of Subjects Abroad, would have a gradual Influence upon our People here at Home. Their Cloaths, the Instruments necessary for clearing and cultivating their Plantations, all the Conveniencies, and many of the Necessaries of Life, they must, when settled in those Plantations, derive from hence; this, in consequence of being a new Demand, would raise the Value of our native Commodities, revive and quicken our Manufactures, afford a Vent for our *East-India* Goods, and whatever else is the Product of our foreign Trade, enable us to extend and carry it on to greater Advantage, and of Course employ, enrich, and aggrandize our People. To be more fully satisfied of this, we need only enquire into the State of Things in this Kingdom before we had any Plantations, into the State of our Trade, the Number of our People, the Value of our Lands, and compare the Result of those Enquiries with the Situation that Things are in

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now. To become the better Masters of this Point, we may single out any of the Colonies, more especially of those that are more immediately the Subject of this Advice, and learn what have been the Effects of their becoming better peopled, and better cultivated; which may be easily done, if we only demand from experienced Persons, what Number of Ships were in the Trade between us and them fifty Years ago, and what are employed in the same Trade now. If upon such an Examination we find, as I dare assert we shall, that they are not greatly only, but prodigiously encreased, we must conclude of Course, that the Profit arising to this Nation from those Plantations, must have augmented in the same Proportion. This is a Way in which we cannot be deceived, our own Reason will be our Guide, and the Testimonies of Men who are above Suspicion, will afford us indisputable Evidence.

It is not impossible, but to some well-meaning People, who are not accustomed to think much of these Matters, one Objection may arise, and methinks it is the only Objection that can arise, which may obstruct their feeling the full Weight of this Reasoning; and therefore it may
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be proper first to state, and then to obviate it. We may at first Sight imagine, that as great Part of the Trade between these Nations and their Colonies, consists in bartering the Goods and Manufactures of *Europe* for the Produce of *America*, this cannot be properly said to enrich us; but when we seriously examine this, we shall find that the Objection is founded rather in Words than in Fact. For either we bring Home from those Colonies Goods that we must otherwise purchase from our Neighbours; and then the Advantage is apparent, since by trading with our own Subjects, wherever the Profit lies it must lie on our Side: or we export a certain Proportion of the Returns from our Plantations, over and above our Home Consumption, and receive for them what we must otherwise have paid for either in Money or in Money's worth; and all that is thus acquired is evidently clear Gains. Besides all this, whatever Wealth our Subjects in the Plantations acquire, centers here; so that while Industry is encouraged by the mutual Intercourse of *British* Subjects in *Europe* and *America*, they must consequently thrive, and whatever is advantageous to the one, will sooner or

later, either in the Means or in the End, become beneficial to the other.

Two plain and easy Instances will set this Matter beyond the Reach of Doubt, or the Power of Controversy. We know that Timber, Iron, and naval Stores, (and if I did not study Brevity I might add some other Things) are absolutely necessary, and what we cannot be without; and that presuming upon this, a certain Northern Nation has by Degrees brought us into such a Situation, that we can purchase these only for ready Money; and it is easy to see, that the Exportation of this is a very great Hardship and Inconvenience. Now there are some of our own Plantations, from whence, with a little Encouragement, all these Things without Exception may be had upon reasonable Terms; and if they were better peopled, that is to say, if the Number of Hands in those Plantations were increased, we might have them upon still easier Terms; and instead of Gold and Silver, pay for them in Goods and Manufactures, that is, in the Product of our People's Labour at Home; which consequently would give Subsistence to a greater Number of Hands here, perhaps to as many as may want Bread

Bread in Consequence of the present Reduction. On the other Hand, the *Spaniards* bring only Treasure and very rich Goods from the vast Dominions they have in *America* ; but are they the more wealthy, the more potent, or the more happy for this? quite the contrary. There is hardly a Country in *Europe* more thinly peopled than *Spain*, where the common People fare harder, or where there is less Appearance of Plenty. Their Marine is in so low a Condition, that the *Barbary* Pirates insult their very Coasts; and the whole Tonnage of the Vessels employed in their Trade to *America*, is not equal to that of the Ships employed between *Great-Britain* and one of her Colonies. In the *Indies* again, they are weak to the last Degree, their People are continually wasting, and of all the Treasure that they send into *Europe*, the far greatest Part comes to us, the *French*, and the *Dutch*, for the Commodities and Manufactures that we furnish them withall to exchange for these Treasures. After this, let any Man deny if he can, that we are infinitely the better for our Colonies producing what they do, and that Providence in this, as well as in all other Cases, has disposed Things much more

more advantageously for us, than we should have done for ourselves; and all it requires in Return is, that we will take the Pains to possess them, and be thankful.

As Improvements of this Kind are very far from being airy or impracticable, so they are lasting and increasing, and not of a fleeting or fluctuating Nature; if we do our Part by them, there is no Fear that they will continue to do their Part by us, which is another Thing that deserves our Observation. It may help us to form some Notion of the Importance of new Settlements, if we consider that of our new Conquest; I mean that of the Island of *Cape Breton*. I will not pretend to revive the Calculations made at the Time when it first came into our Hands; that would be an invidious and offensive Task, and quite beside the Compass of my Design, which is not to throw Reflections, but to hint some Things that may be useful. The Method I shall take, will be quite of another Nature; I shall observe, that at the Peace of *Utrecht* the *French* ran the Hazard of overturning the whole Negotiation, rather than part with that Island; and notwithstanding our Acquisitions, which were considerable

considerable in this Quarter of the World ; it was charged upon the Negotiators of that Treaty, that in leaving *Cape Breton* to the *French*, (for the Doctrine then was, that it belonged to this Crown of ancient Right) they had done the same Injury to the Nation as if they had given away a Mine of Gold. Such were the Sentiments of both Nations at the Treaty of *Utrecht*. Again, at the Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, the Island of *Cape Breton* was of such Consequence, that to get it out of our Hands, the *French* were content to restore the *Low Countries*, without insisting upon their first Demand of *Luxemburgh* ; and because this Restitution could not be made in so prompt a Manner as that of their Conquests in the *Austrian Netherlands*, they expected Hostages for the Performance of the Article which stipulated this Restitution. If these Instances of the Value set upon this Island by both Nations, when in and out of the Possession of each of them, are not allowed to be sufficient to prove the Consequence of it, we must be at a Loss to know what Arguments are of Weight in Politicks ; and if any are so hardy after this, as to deny its great Importance, it will be a vain Thing to endeavour their Conviction.

Conviction. As for the impartial and disinterested Part of Mankind, they cannot fail of seeing it in a true Light, and of concluding from thence, that it was indeed a great and glorious Acquisition in time of War, and that it was a Thing that stood both us and our Allies in very great Stead, when it was thought necessary, or at least expedient, to make Peace.

If therefore this small Island appears to have been of so very great Importance, what Reason have we to entertain the least Doubt, that the improving all the waste Parts of those extensive Countries which we possess in that Neighbourhood, would not turn to as great or greater Account? Or why, being once satisfied of this, should we hesitate or delay attempting such Improvements? These are Acquisitions that may be made in a Time of Peace, when the Advantages that are to be derived from them will rise, and will be felt while they are making; and, which is still a Thing of greater Consequence, will at the same Time put it out of the Power of any Enemies to attempt, or at least to effect ought to our Prejudice, whenever War shall break out again. We need not doubt, that as soon as *France* is in Possession

session again of this valuable Island,
 for which she has paid so high a Price,
 and for which she has manifested so great
 a Concern, she will lose no Time in re-
 storing, refortifying, and repeopling it,
 so as to make it repay all that it has cost
 her ; and shall we be less assiduous, less
 attentive, to make the most of those Coun-
 tries that are ours by an indisputed Right,
 from which we already draw such vast
 Advantages, and from which it is not-
 withstanding certain, that we may still
 draw much greater ? To what Purpose
 do we boast of our being a Maritime
 Power, what avails the Superiority of our
 Naval Force, or what are we the better
 for that vast Increase of Shipping, to which
 this Part of the World in particular has so
 much contributed, if our Indolence,
 our Inattention, our Want of publick Spi-
 rit, can prevent us from reaping such Ad-
 vantages as these that offer themselves to
 our View, and our Possession ? That in-
 vite, that call upon us to exert our Skill,
 as our Ancestors did in past Times, to
 make ourselves great and powerful ; not
 by inroaching upon our Neighbours, or
 oppressing Strangers, but by making a
 right Use of our own, by applying our
 Thoughts to settle and improve Places
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that are commodious by Situation, and capable of furnishing us with Commodities of the greatest Use ; with the Want of which we are least able to dispense, and for the Purchase of which we annually send vast Quantities of Money to Strangers ; who, instead of considering us as their Friends and Benefactors, look upon us rather in the Light of Dependents, and afford us not the smallest Token either of Favour or Respect. It may be, if at length we should take this salutary Step, and convince them that their Countries produce nothing which we could not have from our own, they would alter their Conduct ; or at least fear a People, whom no Benefits, no Kindnesses, (for they have been indebted for them to us of all Sorts) could ever yet teach them either Gratitude, or Wisdom enough to love. At least, we should convince them of their Mistake, and set all the rest of *Europe* too right in this Point ; by shewing them that *Great Britain*, when her Councils are rightly directed, need depend for Timber and Naval Stores on no other Countries in the World, but what are in her own Possession. This surely is a Point of too great Importance, to be either slighted, or neglected.

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We have heard it insinuated, and perhaps not altogether without Foundation, that the Inhabitants of those Colonies that were most instrumental in making the Conquest of *Cape Breton*, have expressed some Dissatisfaction at seeing it given up ; neither, if we judge calmly or impartially, can we blame them very highly if they did. But we may easily banish such Notions, retrieve our Credit with them, and revive that sincere Veneration, which they are always by Nature and Duty, as well as by Interest, ready to pay to their Mother-Country, by shewing an early Concern for their Welfare, now the Peace is made. It is very well known how much they have these Improvements at Heart, and this Disposition of theirs is most certainly that, which we ought to cherish and support. There is no question that it would turn to their Advantage, but at the same time it would turn much more to ours ; and amongst many other Benefits that would result from it, nothing could contribute so much as this, to fix the perpetual Dependence of those Colonies upon *Great Britain*. At the same time it would increase our Strength where we want it most, that is, in one of our

Frontiers: And as by this Method we should not only render our People more numerous, but at the same time vastly increase our Shipping in those Parts; this would have a manifest Tendency to heighten our Power throughout all *America*, because it would enable us to convey Succour from the Parts in which we are strongest, to those in which, from the Nature of our Settlements, we are at present, and are still likely to continue weakest. This too is a Point of the utmost Consequence, which ought to be always uppermost in our Thoughts, and which we should ever study to promote; since as the Wealth we draw from our Plantations is a Matter of prodigious Benefit to us, so it is and ever will be the great Object of Envy to other Nations, more especially to such as have Settlements in that Part of the World as well as we, and who for that very Reason will be always upon the Watch, to take Advantage of any Negligence of which we are guilty, and profit by any Mistakes into which we may fall. At present, indeed, we have a very large Extent of Country, and many of our Colonies are flourishing and in great Power; but notwithstanding this, there are others of which this
cannot

cannot be said, and yet the Preservation of those Colonies is of the utmost Consequence to the whole.

At the breaking out of the War, we made a Settlement upon the Island of *Ratan*, the Situation of which was very commodious, in respect to military Operations in Time of War, and of Commerce in Time of Peace. It is said of late, it may be proper to relinquish that Settlement, and to withdraw the People that are upon it. Possible it may be so; but surely this will be very well weighed before it is done; and it will not be thought a Point of true Oeconomy, to decline making Satisfaction to those who thus abandon their Properties which they acquired by our Countenance, and possessed under our Protection. We may easily conceive, without entring into the particular Circumstances relating to that Place, how laborious and difficult a Thing it is to lay the Foundations for future Improvements, and to bring into tolerable Order the first Plantations in a waste and desert Country, where those who have the Courage to attempt it, must overcome all the Obstacles of Soil and Climate, by dint of constant and indefatigable Perseverance; and this with infinite

finite Hazard to their Health and Lives, which those who succeed them will escape; and after this is done, and these bold and adventurous People begin to reap the Advantage of their heroic Constancy, and to behold the Fruits of their Industry smiling on every Side; what can there be more sensible, more cruelly affecting, than to oblige them in such Circumstances to withdraw? It is easy at this Distance to find plausible Pretences for treating this as a Thing necessary, and Orders may be issued in Consequence of those Pretences, without feeling any of those Pangs that must naturally wring the Souls of such as are to obey them. People who have placed their Hopes, and what is there more reasonable, than that they should place their Hopes in the Enjoyment of what with inexpressible Peril, and a Fatigue not to be described, they have at last in some measure brought to bear? To strip such Men at once of the little Property they have so dearly bought, and with so many Hardships acquired, is what Humanity forbids, and what Justice will prohibit, without giving them an ample Recompence, or at least a suitable Equivalent in some of our Colonies, where the same industrious Spirit may
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be employed, without Fear of such another cruel Reverse of Fortune, without the Heart-breaking Apprehensions of being one Day obliged to abandon the Work of their Hands, and the Delight of their Souls. Reputation is a Jewel to Nations as well as Merchants, and no Recompence can be given to either for the Loss of that. If Men have staked their all in Confidence of Protection and Support; if for a Time they have received such Protection, and have had Assurances given them of its Continuance; can it be withdrawn without their Consent, and the Reputation of those who for a Time bestowed it, remain safe and unhurt? No certainly, Men will never rely a second Time in Matters that so nearly concern them for Protection, on those who have deceived them once. They will desert those Settlements and that Nation for ever, and will seek that Security, which must give Spirit to fresh Labours, under some other Power.

But in respect to the Island just mentioned, this certainly will not be the Case. Why should we think of withdrawing from, or quitting any Country which we have a Right to keep, when there is no apparent, no express Stipulation

tion that we should desert it ? What Example has been set us on the other Side, what controverted Islands have been slighted or deserted by other Nations, or what Certainty have we, that this Precedent, if we should make it, will be followed ? Or without such a Certainty, without so much as any Assurances, why should such a Precedent be made ? If the Possession of that Place be of no Consequence, why did we take Possession ? if it be, why should we leave it without an Equivalent ? Will doing and undoing, making a Point of a Thing one Day, and giving it up the next, sparing no Pains or Cost for some Years, and then throwing all away, just as the Fruits of them appear, raise our Credit in that Part of the World, where it imports us so much that our Power should be revered, and our Steadiness rely'd on ? Will not Friends and Enemies descant upon this Conduct, and endeavour to penetrate into its Motives ? Is it possible they should ascribe it to Oeconomy, or believe that the saving a small Expence would influence those who have hazarded much greater, where far less Advantages were in View ? To what then can they ascribe it ? Will it be to the Conclusion

clusion of the Peace, when there is no Article therein by which this is required ? Will they ascribe it to Complaisance, when they are satisfied that this can have no good Effect, when they see no other Nation acting upon this Principle, or endeavouring to shew their good Breeding to us in the same way ? There may indeed be secret Reasons, but of these neither we nor they can judge, while they continue secret ; and therefore I presume, that whenever this Island is abandoned, those Reasons and that News will reach the publick Ear at the same Time. As for the Rumours already spread, they must be false and groundless, because they are idle and injurious, in the Sentiments of all proper Judges.

There are many strong Reasons why we ought to meditate very carefully upon these Points, and not upon some People's Fancies, that a little Money may be saved here ; or the Information of mercenary and self-interested People, that there is no need of Forts or Forces there ; uncover our Frontiers, and leave that great Empire we possess in the New World a Prey to such as have a due Attention to their own Affairs, and are ready to pick up and keep what others, for want of

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knowing its Value, slight and despise. We have many Countries in those Parts, which have been long in our Possession, but to which other Nations have kept up a Claim, from a Foresight, perhaps, that in some or other of our whimsical Humours, we may be content to throw them away, or leave the People that are in them to the Mercy of their next Neighbours. But this will not suddenly be the Case: Islands and Countries are not of so small Consequence, as to be ~~lost~~, without so much as an Enquiry whether it would not answer as well to the Publick to preserve them. It is not impossible, that twenty or thirty thousand Pounds a Year (one would rather over than under-do the Thing) may by this Means be kept at home; but for the Consequences of such a Saving who will take upon him to answer? It is not saying, that no Orders were given to the People to withdraw, that no Agreement was made with any Power to relinquish such Places, but that amongst other Methods taken for keeping the publick Expences within Bounds, amongst other Reductions one was made here. This most certainly will be but a very lame Apology for such a Piece of Conduct; for if you uncover and take
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away Protection from a Colony, especially if that Colony be upon the Frontiers, there is no need of bidding the People withdraw, they will do that of themselves; for how little soever their Interest may be understood in *Europe*, the *British* Subjects in *America* know it too well to trust such Neighbours, as Enemies alike in time of War and Peace, and who never failed to lay hold of any Opportunity of preventing other People from reaping the Benefit of Countries, which never were or will be of any Use to them. Withdrawing Protection in such Cases, is a Signal sufficient to the People, as well as the Soldiers; and the former, however unwilling, will nevertheless desert their Plantations, as soon as the latter retire from their Posts.

It is not so long ago since the War broke out, that we should forget the Causes of it; and it would be a very strange Thing to maintain a War at so large an Expence of Men and Money, and for so many Years together, and at the End of it relinquish any thing which our Enemies in the Course of it could never obtain by Force. It was thought expedient, before that War begun, to cover the Southern Frontier, as by much

the weakest we have ; and for the very same Reason, it ought to be held expedient to cover it still. It will be no satisfactory Answer to say, that all our Frontiers are covered by the Peace, because it is well known, that nothing has been stipulated for their Security by the Peace. If indeed we should give Credit to what foreign Gazettes tell us from *Madrid*, that upon the Arrival of our Ambassador there, Conferences will be opened for settling all Matters in *America*, it would furnish us with a direct and conclusive Argument, that nothing should be done to weaken our Possessions in that Part of the World, until these Conferences being over, we knew how far our Safety might be increased from the Result of them. It is very well known, that King *Charles* the First granted to Sir *Robert Heath* that very Country of which the *French* are at present possessed, and that this Grant was confirmed by King *William*, as well as by his Predecessors, when we were in full Peace with *Spain* ; and it is also very well known, that notwithstanding this, the *Spaniards* have all along kept up a Claim, and but a little before this War directly insisted upon their Right, not barely to our Frontier Province, but to those long ago

ago settled also. In such a precarious Situation, it must be very imprudent to trust to a bare Possession, without being in a Condition to maintain that Possession; nor can we ever hope that our Plantations in those Parts should flourish, if we either refuse or repine at the trifling Expence that the due Protection of them requires. Such a Conduct as this, instead of manifesting Oeconomy, is the direct Proof of the Want of it. To lose great Advantages, for want of laying out such small Sums as are requisite to secure them, is the Frugality of a Miser, who loses the Use of his Horses, rather than pay for Hay and Oats to keep them. Such a Proceeding is unworthy of a great Nation; we should either resolve to part with Places, or determine to protect them; to do neither, entails upon us an Expence that is to no purpose, and, what is worse, at the same time does us no Credit.

One Thing indeed is certain, that if we withdraw our Protection, and our Subjects should, as they undoubtedly will, withdraw upon it, we shall have either the *French* or *Spaniards*, or probably both, take possession of what we leave; and then we must either abandon our next Frontier, or be at a greater Expence
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for the Defence of the Colonies, than would keep the Frontier that we now have. The Truth of the Matter is, (for why should not the Truth be told) the real Interest of *Great Britain* is to maintain a considerable Force in these Parts; and tho' this may be attended with a considerable Expence, yet that would be much more than ballanced by the Consequences that must follow from it. It has been said, and it is fit that it should be said again, that even a small Expence, if it be to no purpose, is Folly and Profusion; but a large Expence that procures Advantages far superior to it, is in reality a Saving, and no Expence at all. We may easily conceive this, if we consider, that our Southern Colonies are full of Negroes, by whose Labour the white Inhabitants are supported, and very large Returns are made to *Great Britain*. But tho' Slaves are beneficial to their Masters, and their Masters lay out all that accrues to them for their Labour with us here in *England*, yet these Slaves are not to be depended upon for Defence. Nor will any Man in his Senses expect, that Countries in this Condition should be able to defend themselves without Assistance, or that there is any Thing unreasonable in their expecting

expecting this Assistance from that Nation upon which they depend, and to which they belong. Neither is the Assistance that we give them, if duly weighed, any Hardship upon this Nation; for every Man of the Troops kept there, does not cost above one Third of what is earned by a Planter; now as we have all that the Planter earns, two thirds of the Expence is saved by defending them, that it would actually cost this Nation if they were able and should defend themselves. Besides, by affording this necessary Protection, and keeping up a reasonable Force in the Frontier Colony, we preserve the Dependence of these rich Southern Countries effectually, as we may always secure the Dependence of the Northern Colonies, by taking off their Timber, Naval Stores, and other Commodities, for which we must otherwise pay ready Money to Strangers; so that the Dreams some People have, or affect to have, of our Colonies thirsting after Independency, will remain Dreams, unless we follow the Advice of these Dreamers, and by throwing off all Regard for our Subjects abroad, force them to forget their Duty to the Government at Home; a Case that, while common Sense remains either in

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Europe or in *America*, can never happen: As there are many unforeseen Inconveniencies attend a wrong Measure, so it is a very difficult Matter to enumerate all the Advantages that may arise from a right one; yet without aiming at the Character of a great Politician, one may assign several others that would arise, from keeping constantly a regular Force on the Southern as well as Northern Frontier. For instance, it gives Weight and Credit to the *British* Nation, preserves the Friendship of the *Indians*, which is a Point of very great Consequence, and which, as the *French* and *Spaniards* are ready to purchase at a high Rate, we ought to set a reasonable Value on also, as having learned by Experience the Benefits resulting from it. It establishes a just Sense of Security in the Planters, gives them Courage and Spirit to pursue their Labours, and to think of turning them to what might promote the future Prosperity of the Colony, rather than sacrifice that to their immediate Advantage, which, while they have any Fears, Suspicions, or Doubts, they will always do. It affords the strongest Invitation for others to come and settle there likewise; for where there is no want of Room, a moral Certainty of thriving,

thriving, and a clear Assurance of perpetual Protection, there will never want People. The Success of those already settled, will excite others to aim at having a Share in their Prosperity ; and in Proportion as this spreads and extends itself, the Reputation of the rising Colony will continue to attract Inhabitants, as the increase of Inhabitants will also heighten their Advantages; and whatever contributes to make a Plantation thrive, must enrich the Mother-Country. While she starves her Children, she must starve for them, (for there is nothing to be had from Beggars) but providing for their Subsistence, they must maintain her, because her Wealth arises from the means of their Subsistence. I will add but one Thing more; if we are sick of *American* Wars, and of the enormous Expence that attends them, this is the Way to render the Peace perpetual ; for while we have a considerable Number of regular Troops in our Frontier Colony, there is no Danger of seeing that Peace disturbed. It was the want of such a Force that encouraged the Violences that brought on the last War, and if we had had but a reasonable Number of well-

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seasoned Troops in those Parts, our Expeditions had ended otherwise than they did. On the whole therefore it will appear, that true Oeconomy consists in providing against and keeping off Dangers, and that immense Charge that is brought upon us by Wars, which, for want of a few reasonable Precautions, we generally speaking bring upon ourselves.

Whatever some People may think, these are no new Doctrines, but the very same that have been preached up by all who were well acquainted with these Matters for half a Century past. Look into the State Tracts, from the Reign of King *Charles II.* to this Time, and you will find the same Arguments urged, the same Reasons insisted upon, and the same Backwardness and Misapprehension exposed. If we have been so often taught, and so long a learning, is it not at least high Time that we should learn now? Have we not had the Examples of other Nations before our Eyes in this Respect? and have we ever seen any Settlements flourish, that were not supported? On the other hand, have we not seen Colonies rise and flourish, and become dangerous Rivals, even to our Sugar Islands, merely by
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Dint of the Support afforded them from their Mother Countries? Have we not also seen great and flourishing Plantations sink and dwindle to nothing, for want of a little Support? Is not this precisely the Case of the two Nations settled upon the Island of *Hispaniola*? one assisted, cherish'd, and defended, and, in Consequence of that, rich and powerful, sending home annually large Fleets with Cargoes of prodigious Value; the other slighted, neglected, and left to shift for herself, and from thence declining low and poor. What reason therefore is there to countenance the Hopes of deriving Advantages from unprotected Colonies, of saying that we are to receive Riches from Countries, where the People have no Chance of subsisting in quiet? These are plain, perspicuous, and consistent Doctrines, not taken up to serve a Turn, or to advance any private or particular Interest, not even that of the Colonies, farther than as their Interests become finally the Interests of *Great-Britain*, and which therefore it is the Duty of every unbiaſſed and unprejudiced *British* Subject to espouse. This being the Case, it is hoped, that such as profess them-

selves concerned to rectify past Mistakes, and to put all things upon a proper Foot for the future, will consider these Matters seriously, and with the Attention they deserve. If Leisure cannot be spared for this at present, at least let no precipitate Measures to be taken; for tho' we may at any Time abandon, we cannot at all Times acquire.

If the Reason should be asked, Why there are any who do not see Things in this Light, if in reality they are so very plain, it may be very easily given. The Light of Men's Eyes differ not more than the Light of their Minds; and therefore it is no Wonder at all, that some are near-sighted, and some are short-sighted; nor is it at all strange in an Age like this, when almost every thing is governed by Fashion, that there should be amongst us some who affect to be short-sighted. These People keep their Eyes fixed upon the Sums that go out for the Service of the Colonies; and because they see this Money immediately paid, and do not as immediately see how it returns, they believe, or pretend to believe, that it is lost, and treat those who assert the contrary, as mere Speculatists or Enthusiasts. But if we reflect,

reflect, that it is a Thing notoriously known to all, who are acquainted with the Nature of *British* Commerce, that, exclusive of the other Advantages derived to us from our Colonies, we actually receive from them to the Amount of upwards of three Millions a Year, it will not appear at all strange or unreasonable, that we should take a little Pains, and even be at some Expence too, for their Preservation. Besides, it is not the Nation only that is a Gainer, but, which ought also to have its Weight, the publick Revenue. Most of these Goods are charged with considerable Customs, and some of them pay likewise a heavy Excise. Why don't we keep our Eyes a little upon that, since we may judge from thence of the Value of these Countries, and of the large Amends they make us for that Proportion of Trouble that we are pleased to bestow about them. We might likewise look round, and consider the many great and rich Families settled and established in this Island, whose Ancestors acquired their Fortunes in *America*; and this would shew us two Things, first, that very large Fortunes are acquired there, and next, that when so acquired they are laid out here. Now I conceive, that let a Man come from what

what Country he will, if he brings with him Money enough to purchase a large Estate, this Nation is a Gainer by him, just as much as that Purchase amounts to; for the Land was here before, remains here still, and the Money that purchases it into the Bargain.

But, say some, if these Countries produce such mighty Advantages, and are so exceedingly rich, why do they not support themselves? what Occasion is there for being at any Expence at all about them? Yet at other times these People answer themselves, by expressing their Fears, that some Time or other the Colonies will become independent; without considering, that to oblige them to provide for themselves, is to make them independent. As their Mother-Country, we have the Tutelage of them, we provide them with Necessaries, we supply them with Conveniences, we assist them with what they want, we protect them when in Danger, we send Persons to govern them; but then, on the other side, we take all they have, we apply it to our own Use, and we make a very large Profit by that Application. This being the true State of the Case, there cannot be any thing more ridiculous, as well as more unkind, than to be treating

ing these People at every turn as if they were Strangers and Foreigners. At this Rate we may form the same Notion, and indeed the Vulgar do, of the Inhabitants of *Yorkshire* and *Somersetshire*; but is not this silly and weak? is it not narrow, and unworthy of a civilized People? Did ever Notions of this kind prevail among the great Nations of Antiquity? or did they ever consider their Citizens as falling from that Character, by living for the publick Service at a Distance? If not, why should we? Sometimes we have the Vanity to compare ourselves to the *Greeks* and *Romans*; let us resemble them in their Virtues, and it will be no longer a Vanity: Let us conceive the Bounds of *Britain* to extend where-ever her Laws are obeyed, where-ever Men are made free and happy by living under our excellent Constitution; this will purge out these little, mean, and despicable Notions, and we shall then have a right Idea of the Welfare of the *British* Nation, which consists in the well-being of every Individual, who pays a just Obedience to its Government.

The setting up a Preference amongst the Colonies, is a Species of that Narrowness of Spirit which ought to be exploded. All we have in *America* is alike our own,

own, and every Part of it ought to be alike our Care. Two Men of War have lately brought us five hundred thousand Pounds in hard Silver from *Jamaica*; shall we thence conclude that Island alone deserves our Care? Our Care she certainly deserves, but in the same Proportion with the rest of our Plantations; some yield us more, some less, but every Colony yields us all it can; and therefore, strictly speaking, all yield alike. Some yield more in War than in Peace, others more in Peace than in War; but what then? we must take Care of them all, and at all Times, because they all depend upon each other. Our Sugar Colonies could hardly subsist, without the Assistance of those upon the Continent; and those upon the Continent thrive and grow rich by their Commerce with the Sugar Islands; but it is *Great Britain* that reaps the Benefit of both, all their Gains center here. Neither ought we to grudge them that Opulence in which, in some of the Plantations, they are thought to live; for as they cannot be frugal without our reaping the Advantage of it, so it is impossible for them to be extravagant, but we must be the better for it. Whether they keep or throw away, tho' it is not alike

alike to them, yet it is the very same Thing to us. If they lay up Money, they come here and purchase Land ; if not, they come here and throw away that Money. It must certainly therefore be our great Interest to preserve them in such a Situation, as that they may be able to acquire Wealth, whether they hoard, or whether they dissipate it. We do them a Kindness indeed in doing this, but at the Bottom we do it for our own Sakes ; or at least this appears to be the Case, when we express an Unwillingness in what we do, and either from a Spirit of Ignorance or Ill-humour, are pleased to mistake for a Burthen, the greatest Blessing that Heaven has bestowed upon us ; that Blessing, which in the Space of a Couple of Centuries has multiplied our People, augmented our Wealth, and increased our Power almost beyond the Reach of Calculation. As this is the general Result of our Plantations in *America*, so those Plantations in general ought to be the Object of our Concern, and we should labour as much as possible to prevent any Jealousies or Uneasinesses from prevailing amongst them, or amongst us, by insinuating upon all Occasions the salutary Doc-

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trine of there being but one Interest common to all, and that the Interest of the *British* Nation. This thoroughly inculcated, would have great and glorious Effects; and we should see no Eagerness or Emulation, but what proceeded from this Principle. We should not fancy, that saving what is necessary for the Defence of any Part of the *British* Dominions is Oeconomy, but we should look upon it as extravagant to part with our Wealth for any other Purpose. Frugality and Profusion are relative Things, and may easily change Places.

It may be objected, that some of our Colonies produce very little, and yet these Colonies require a great Expence. Now methinks, a discreet Man would see nothing strange in what is so very natural. There is not any Colony we have but what was heretofore in the same Condition. Name the Colony that has cost us Money for twenty Years past, and is not able to subsist yet; and it will be easy to name another that cost us Money for forty Years together, that broke Company after Company, and did well at last, which it might have done sooner, if those Companies could have done more at once; for
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the Fault lay not in what was spent, but in the spending it by little and little. If you feed Chickens by a Grain at a Time, they will never be fat; give them their Corn by the Handful, and you'll find your Account in it. There is no Country in *America*, with which we have any thing to do, but what is capable of Improvements, capable of all that has been said of or promised for it. If therefore it does not answer our Expectation, it is our own Fault; the People want Encouragement or Protection, or the Country wants People. We have it in our Power to supply either, or both these Deficiencies, and we ought to supply them, because it is our Interest. Is there a Colony that does not answer, or is a Burthen to us? Have done with it. I don't mean abandon or desert it, but take Care to be well apprized of its Condition, learn what is the true State of its Inhabitants, and wherein their Wants consist, that you may remove them. If the Fault lies not there, and the Colony is thinly peopled, take away that Defect. We complain of People here that are burthensome, send them thither; and what was a Burthen at home, will be a

Blessing abroad. But send them in Time, don't let them run the Gantlet through all the Goals in the Kingdom, and then send them thither when they are good for nothing, as Transports. Poverty is a Misfortune, but no Crime, or at least no Crime in the Poor, whatever it may be in the Governors ; for true Policy consists in finding Employment for all People, and the Toleration of Idleness is an Error in Government. It is a Species of Profusion to bestow Alms upon able Men, but it is great Frugality to lay out twice what you would give them in Charity, to put them in a Way of subsisting themselves. The one is a temporary Relief to necessitous Persons, the other a real and perpetual Relief to the Body Politick. Be ashamed then of an Expedient that reflects Discredit upon them and you, and never think any Sum of Money thrown away, in putting your Countrymen in a Condition to live like Freemen, which is their Birth-right. These look like wild and extravagant Notions, only to wild and extravagant Men ; who, because they do not happen to feel Want themselves, have no Bowels for them that do ; tho' perhaps their Necessities are owing to
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their spending their Health and Strength, in protecting from Necessity those who despise them.

Thus we return to where we set out, and after making the Tour of the whole *British* Dominions, we find that to consult the Benefit of the Nation, we must have our Eyes upon every Part of it, into whatever Countries or Climates it may be dispersed. We must consider all Ranks and Degrees of People, and believe that no Ease can be given to one Part by oppressing another. We must be content, if we will do what is right, to aim at the Good of the whole; and as this requires much Caution and great Deliberation, we must proceed slowly and surely, in order to effect it; we must be tender of throwing our Countrymen and Fellow-Subjects into such a State of Distress, as may make them dangerous to others, as well as desperate themselves; we must take the speediest and the safest Methods for preventing these Evils, by providing for them, as far as that is possible, the Means of Subsistence, of which the Inhabitants of a neighbouring Island (a valuable Part of his Majesty's Dominions) have set us a wise and laudable Example; we

we must make use of the Quiet which the Peace has procured us, to find out the most effectual Methods for employing and encouraging Industry, and thereby augmenting our national Income, so as that Plenty and Prosperity may be universally diffused; we must be cautious of trusting too early, or too entirely, to a Reconciliation so lately made; we must remember, that the best way to preserve Peace is to be provided for War, and not suffer ourselves to sink into such a State, as may expose us to have other Terms prescribed than those we have stipulated; we must call to mind the Causes of the last War, which will sufficiently shew us the Necessity of procuring some way or other their total Extirpation; for it is not the Name of a Treaty that takes away Debates, or silences Disputes; this can be only done by removing the Grounds of them. This, indeed, may not lie entirely in our Power; but thus much will be always within its Compass, that we provide for our own Security, and leave no Part of our Dominions open to Insults or Incroachments. We have, for the Sake of our Allies, restored our
 Conquests,

Conquests, and withal have respited the Terror of our naval Armaments; this was all that could be expected from us, and this being done, we have fulfilled our Engagements; as for Works of Supererogation, or Acts of Complaisance, they can serve only to weaken ourselves, and to raise up new Demands from those whom we shall never oblige by any such Methods.

F I N I S.